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POLITICAL SCIENCE IN SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES *

The object of all education is good citizenship. The justification of higher education by the state, if any is needed, is to be found in the training of the more capable for leadership that they in turn may raise the people as a whole to a higher standard. To this end have been provided normal schools for the training of teachers, agricultural schools for the training of scientific farmers, technological schools for skilled mechanics and engineers, and law schools for the training of lawyers. Any one who has gone through any of these schools is the better equipped for citizenship by reason of his equipment in one line. Yet there is a field of service requiring for its proper performance no mean order of training which is quite generally neglected in the Southern States. I refer to the business of statecraft.

It may be suggested that the law school provides for this, but such a proposition is hard to maintain. The lawyer studies to learn what the law is and how it is administered in the courts, only incidentally to learn what it ought to be. Besides, there is a wide field of administrative law which lies almost wholly outside the province of the ordinary lawyer. But, even if true, only a limited number ever take the law course and the most of these with no definite purpose of entering the public service. The non-officials among them generally study problems from the personal point of view—for their own interest or that of their clients. For this reason a broader study is needed, such as may be found in courses devoted to the science and practice of government.

Such a proposition ought to be self-evident in a democracy, yet we have been somewhat slow to realize it. In the old days the South had a sort of passion for politics. The public service,

*THE SEWANEE REVIEW for July, 1906, published an article by Prof. W. W. Willoughby of Johns Hopkins University on "Political Science as a University Study." THE REVIEW offers the present paper as a further admirable illustration of the practical application of principles and theories there laid down.—THE EDITOR.

culminating in a position at Washington, was thought to be par excellence the calling of a gentleman, and a noble service did many render. Their knowledge of certain fields of history was perhaps as profound as that of any of their contemporaries; in the theory of government they were even better equipped. The chief trouble lay in the fact that they lacked breadth of view and flexibility of policy to meet new conditions. They looked to, almost worshipped, the past and sought to curb the future by the past instead of seeking to give it broader scope by a study of present conditions with a view to improving upon the past and the present.

The key-note of practically all that is now written about the South is that tremendous possibilities lie out before her, first of all in industrial lines. Development along industrial lines will raise new and larger problems in government. The chief trouble in American civic life to-day is that our industrial development has outrun our science of government. How the latter is to catch up with the former is now the problem. Development along industrial and educational lines will also mean a larger share in the affairs of the nation and of world politics. The part we are to play will not be determined wholly by mere numbers and wealth, but by our wealth in able and well-trained men.

In an article published elsewhere several years ago the writer made certain observations on the business of statecraft and pointed out the needs of special training for this calling. He even suggested a school for statesmen. Gladstone, the peer, if not the superior, of any statesman of the nineteenth century, had no training in any such school, but he is said to have been carefully instructed by his father in the science of government from the age of twelve and he entered the public service at an early age and worked his way up. Special schools may not be needed to turn out statesmen, but certainly the state owes certain obligations in this respect. These obligations it may discharge by a proper ordering of institutions already established, namely, our universities. What are these doing to train men for statecraft?

The border states may be treated separately. In Maryland

the Johns Hopkins University, which is not a state institution, lays most emphasis on its graduate work. There are separate departments for history, political science, and economics. In history there are four men and in political science one, besides noted lecturers who give special lectures for short periods during the academic year. Courses in constitutional history are given in the department of history. The courses in political science are not numerous, but they are in charge of a noted teacher and are well ordered for the training of men for professional work and for the public service, especially in its higher branches. At the other extreme, geographically, is Missouri, with a department of political science and public law in charge of two men. The courses are varied and are such as would give practical training for public service, especially in state and municipal government. The state institutions of Kentucky and Virginia may be dismissed with the remark that they seem to do practically nothing along this line.

Oklahoma lies below the old line $36^{\circ} 30'$, was settled largely by Southern people, and is generally classed as a Southern State. In matters of government it is making some experiments which are being watched with interest throughout the country. The University of Oklahoma deserves special mention as one that maintains a department of political science entirely separate from any other. Excellent courses are offered in the theory of government and in studies preparatory for the higher branches of public service, but, in a such a progressive State, one is surprised to find so little relating to state and municipal government.

Outside the border states, the universities of Texas and Louisiana are the only institutions which ostensibly maintain separate departments of political science, and even there the separation is not complete, for economics is included with it. The combination is not a common one, but perhaps not altogether unscientific, for government and industrial life touch each other at almost every turn. Of the other institutions considered in this discussion, some maintain departments of history and political science or history and economics (or political economy), while others apply the term history

only, though a little political science and economics may be taught. Only a few maintain separate departments of economics.

The accompanying table will serve to illustrate the work done in these states in political science and closely allied subjects.

STATE OR INSTITUTION	Constitutional History		Constitutional Law or Comparative Govts.	State Govts.	Munic. Govt.	Admin. Law	Public Finance	Politics	Polit. Theories	Internat. Law	Diplomacy	Civil Law	Jurisprudence	Teachers	Students
	U. S.	Eng.													
Alabama	1.5	1.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	319
Arkansas	3	3	1.5	1	...	...	1.5	1	1.5	1.5	1.5	...	...	4	592
Florida .....	...	...	3	a	...	...	...	...	...	1.5	...	...	...	1	72
Georgia	1.5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	341
Louisiana .....	...	...	1.5	...	1.5	1.5	1.5	...	1.5	3	1	1.5	...	5	447
Mississippi .....	...	2	3c	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	2	...	...	4	301
North Carolina .....	...	...	5	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	3	537
South Carolina .....	...	...	3	a	1.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	245
Tennessee	2	...	3b	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	536
Texas	3	3	3	...	3	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	3	12	1282
Central Univ. (Ky.)	3	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	153
Mercer	1.5	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	254
Univ. of South	1.5	...	1.5	...	...	...	?	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	124
Trinity	3	3	1.5	...	...	...	?	...	...	...	...	?	...	5	261
Tulane	3	...	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	558

The numbers under the courses stand for hours throughout the year:

? Uncertainty as to hours or exact nature of the course.

a Only in connection with constitutional law.

b In addition, courses in actual (American) government.

c A mixture of sociology, comparative governments, and state governments.

The state schools, of which most may reasonably be expected, are placed first. As a great deal of the higher education in the South is given by church schools, they also have been considered. Certain ones have been selected as fairly representative perhaps a little above the average, of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopal and Methodist schools, and Tulane has been included as an undenominational institution.

A few courses appear in the table which, strictly speaking, do not belong to the province of political science. Of such is constitutional history, but it is very essential as a foundation for political science and certainly the institutions which give no

further work along this line should be credited with that much. Public finance is a subject most commonly given by the department of economics, but the term is somewhat inclusive and certainly the law of taxation might very properly be treated as a subject of political science. Indeed, the whole question of finance, including the administrative features, is so vital to any well-ordered government that it might well be treated as an art and a science to be taught along with the other arts and sciences of government.

Under the teaching force the total of all men in the departments of history, political science, and economics has been included. This seemed to be the only fair means of comparison, since in some institutions all of the work is thrown together.

Owing to different methods of classification in the different institutions a little difficulty was experienced in getting the exact number of students, but it is believed that the numbers given are approximately correct. An effort was made to eliminate all in professional schools, such as law and medicine, but students in scientific, technological, and agricultural courses are included, as in some institutions they are free to elect political science.

In regard to the courses offered, the table speaks for itself. One cannot but feel that the important subjects of state and municipal government, which come closest home to most citizens, hardly receive the attention they deserve. International law is a very attractive subject and is indispensable to one who expects to serve abroad, either in the diplomatic or consular service. Constitutional history seems to be a general favorite. Several of the institutions left blank give courses in United States history, but they were omitted from the table because not specified as constitutional. Probably their courses are not essentially different from many of those included. As previously remarked, such courses are essential to further work in political science, but, when no further work is offered, care should be taken that they do not lead to constitution worship and end in finely-spun theories about the rights of the states versus the rights of the nation.

After a careful study of the table one leaves it with a doubt as to whether the universities in the South are doing full justice to the important subject of political science, or, with the exception of three or four, as much as might reasonably be expected of them under present conditions. Certainly there is yet room for a wide development of this subject and it is to be hoped that it will be included in the next scheme of expansion for most of our colleges and universities.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

The University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.